

THE EASTERN ONTARIO  
LIBERAL ASSOCIATION

Formed January 14th, 1919.

Constitution and Officers and Advisory  
Council and Executive Committee.

RESOLUTIONS

Addresses by the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid  
Laurier and others.

FAIR TREATMENT OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS—  
GENEROUS CARE FOR DEPENDENTS OF THE FALLEN  
—MAINTENANCE OF BRITISH PREFERENCE RESTOR-  
ED AND UNMPAIRED—RECIPROCITY IN FOODSTUFFS  
—GRADUAL PROGRESS TOWARD FREER TRADE—DE-  
MOCRATIZATION OF LABOR—ABOLITION OF GOV-  
ERNMENT BY ORDER-IN-COUNCIL—ABOLITION OF  
PRESS CENSORSHIP—REPEAL OF THE WAR TIME  
ELECTIONS ACT—AND FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

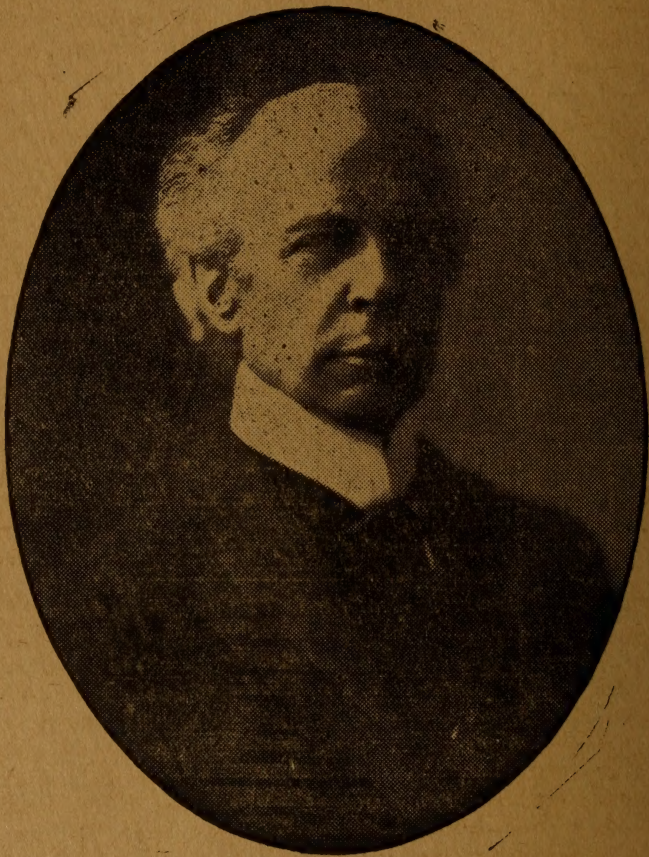
Address all Letters to:-

THE SECRETARY

- Eastern Ontario Liberal Association -

P. O. BOX 540.

OTTAWA, ONT.



THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER



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# District Liberal associations

In the month of December, 1918, circular letters were issued with the view to developing public opinion amongst the Liberal of Eastern Ontario, with the intent that a District Liberal Association be formed. The first paragraph of the circular was as follows:—

From time to time proposals have been made with the view to forming the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association. At various gatherings of Liberals the suggestion has been approved and is endorsed by the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier. At a recent gathering of Liberals in the City of Ottawa, at which there were present members of the Federal Parliament, members of the Provincial Parliament, Candidates in past elections, and several others, it was decided to take active steps to form an association as suggested.

## **CONFINED TO RESIDENTS ONLY AND THESE BY CERTIFICATE OR INVITED**

The circular then proceeded to outline the various steps to be taken to have delegates assemble, and gave suggested outlines of a constitution. These steps and outlines were used as a guide in the proceedings that led to the formation of an association and the adoption of a constitution, as set out in the succeeding pages. Only residents of the district, present as either delegates or alternates, were entitled to take part in the discussions, and not more than the required number of delegates from each Constituency could vote. The delegates and alternates were admitted by certificate or tickets. This plan has

been followed in the formation of other district associations as well as the policy of inviting persons, resident within the district and no others, to be present as observers. These gatherings are held for the purpose of organizing an association, and other matters taken up are but incidental. At each district gathering, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, is invited to speak, and if he is unable to attend, the preliminary committee invite some one else. J. A. Robb, M.P., Valleyfield, Que., the chief Liberal Whip in the House of Commons, is invited, because of his position he is practically considered an ex-officio delegate. And Alexander Smith, Ottawa, although a resident of Eastern Ontario, because he outlined the plans for the formation of these district associations, has received invitations to be present at the formation of other associations.

## **THE PROCEEDINGS**

In response to the foregoing outlines, Liberal delegates assembled in Ottawa, on Tuesday, January 14th 1919. Alexander Smith, Ottawa, convening chairman, in calling the gathering to order stated that in the past six Federal general elections 1896, 1900, 1904, 1908, 1911 and 1917 the Liberals carried an average of 30 seats in Ontario, although on the last two of these elections the average was but eleven. So long as the Liberals met to consult and advise with one another and actively present a programme, they were, he said, able to make a good showing in the Province of Ontario. The proposals to have six district Liberal organizations in Ontario were well under



way. Western Ontario had organized an Association, Eastern Ontario was doing so, and in a week the Central Ontario Liberals would meet for a similar purpose. Two Associations would probably be formed for Northern or New Ontario; and last but not least there would be launched the Toronto and York Liberal Association.

Mr. Smith said that three or more persons from each of these six district Associations would be asked to join to form a Central Liberal Executive Committee for the Province and a National Liberal Convention would probably be held during the present year. Similar procedure, to what was outlined, was adopted in 1893 and gave great impetus and strength to the Liberal Party for nearly sixteen years. In 1896, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was first returned to power, Ontario elected 48 Liberal supporters. Without the example to other Provinces in the activity of the Ontario Liberals, in the early nineties, the Liberal Party would not have been elected to power in 1896.

Continuing Mr. Smith said: "We are assembled to consider how best we may proceed to develop the principles of Liberalism and more especially apply them to the democratic Government of ourselves and of Canada. Organization in a Political Party is just as necessary as organization in business, churches, municipal affairs, schools and other institutions looking towards the betterment of the people. If I were to give a brief definition of Liberalism, I would say it is individual and equal freedom regulated by self control. We speak of this control as organization. In an organization such as ours, where the members have individual and equal freedom modulated or regulated by self control, the only bond of union is the cementing friendship born of mutual confidence and good will. When

mutual confidence and good will, in a Political Party, give place to anything else, the organization should cease. No political organization, which is simply an automatic, selfish, or commercial machine, has a right to exist. The spirit, the hope and the aspirations of the people are after all the impelling forces that help to keep alive the public good."

#### CONSTITUENCIES IN THE EASTERN ONTARIO LIBERAL ASSOCIA- TION DISTRICT

Mr. Smith concluded by reading the list of ridings, according to Provincial boundaries, that would proceed to organize for both Federal and Provincial matters. These are as follows:—

1. Ottawa East
2. Ottawa West
5. Lanark North
4. Lanark South
6. Renfrew South
7. Renfrew North
8. Grenville
9. Russell
10. Prescott
11. Glengarry
12. Stormont
13. Dundas
14. Brockville
15. Leeds
16. Frontenac
17. Kingston
18. Lennox
19. Addington
20. Prince Edward
21. Hastings East
21. Hasting East
22. Hasting West
23. Hastings North.

In the area comprised in the foregoing there are eighteen Federal seats.

## ASSOCIATION FORMED

Upon motion Mr. Smith was appointed Chairman of the meeting. The delegates, by motion, decided to form "THE EASTERN ONTARIO LIBERAL ASSOCIATION", and adopted a constitution as printed herewith. Upon the officers of the Association being duly elected, Mr. H. H. Horsey, President, Cressy, Ont., took the chair and the remaining business of the afternoon was the moving and adopting of a series of resolutions submitted to the assemblage by a committee composed of two delegates from each Constituency, who had met the evening previous and revised and adopted several resolutions submitted to them by a special committee composed of candidates and others.

Before the Association adjourned in the afternoon, Hon. Geo. P. Graham and Hon. Charles Murphy, delegates to the meeting, spoke briefly and took occasion to commend the spirit and enthusiasm that characterized the whole

proceedings and the splendid business capacity displayed in the direction and management requisite to the launching of the Association.

During the progress of the afternoon, Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier arrived and shortly afterwards the resolution of confidence in him was moved by J. E. McGlade, of Brockville, and unanimously seconded by the whole audience rising and cheering several times. Sir Wilfrid, in acknowledging the tribute, took occasion to express his approval of the formation of district Liberal Associations and cordially thanked the delegates for their presence and the interest they displayed. Taking as a thought an incident that occurred in the discussion while he was present, Sir Wilfrid said that a national convention of Liberals would be held and a platform adopted, and no matter how any person voted in the past, the only question would be: "Do you support the policy as laid down by the Liberal convention?"





# Constitution of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association

The committee appointed at the meeting of the delegates, on the evening of January 13th, 1919, to draft a constitution, submitted their recommendation. Upon formal motion it was decided that the same be first read in toto and then read clause by clause, so as to allow opportunity to discuss each clause. After the draft constitution was so read, discussed and explained, it was on motion, adopted as below:—

## ARTICLE I.

### NAME AND OBJECTS.

1. This Association shall be known as the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association.

2. The objects of this Association are to co-operate with and assist local Liberal Associations and Liberal Clubs in the organization of the supporters of Liberal principles in Eastern Ontario.

## ARTICLE II.

### MEMBERSHIP.

1. The members of this Association shall be composed of the Liberal candidates in the last preceding Provincial and Federal Elections and those nominated for the next elections, the President and the Secretary of the Liberal Association of each Constituency, the officers of this Association, and ten delegates to be chosen by the Liberal Association of each constituency, according to Provincial boundaries.

2. A meeting of this Association shall be held annually, at such time and place as may be decided upon by the Executive Committee, who may also fix a time and place for extra or special meetings of the Association.

## ARTICLE III.

### OFFICERS, ADVISORY COUNCIL AND COMMITTEE.

1. The officers of this Association shall consist of an honorary President, Seven Honorary Vice-Presidents, a President, seven Vice-Presidents, an Hono-

rary Secretary-Treasurer, a legal and Constitutional Adviser, a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary; both of whom will be chosen by the Executive Committee. These officers, together with the Dominion and Provincial Members of Parliament, and 46 members, elected at the annual meeting, shall constitute a general advisory Council. The 46 members shall be nominated, two from each constituency, by the delegates therefrom present at the meeting. The officers of the association, together with 23 members appointed from the members of the General Advisory Council by each Constituency designating a member to the General Advisory Council, (who is to act on the Executive) shall form the Executive Committee. Twenty shall form a quorum of the General Advisory Council and ten of the Executive.

2. The officers shall be chosen at each annual meeting of the Association, and shall hold office until the election of their successors. In case of an office becoming vacant between any of the annual meetings, the executive committee shall have power to elect a person to fill the same for the remainder of the term.

3. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Association, and he shall, upon being requested by the executive committee, direct the Secretary to call meetings from time to time of the General Advisory Council and Executive, and special meetings of the Association. The meetings of the general Advisory Council and Executive Committee shall be called by a notice to each member of the Council and Committee. Meetings of the Association shall be called by written notification to the President and Secretary of each Riding Association, to appoint delegates and notify the other members thereof.

4. In the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents, or, in their absence, a chairman, chosen by the meeting, shall preside.

5. The Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Association, he shall have the custody of its books



and papers, and shall conduct all correspondence and report thereon at each regular meeting; he shall also, when requested by the President, call special meetings of the Association.

6. The Assistant Secretary shall aid the Secretary in the discharge of his duties.

7. It shall be the duty of the Honorary Secretary-Treasurer to receive all moneys belonging to the Association, to keep a written account of all receipts and expenditure, and to pay no sums without obtaining an order signed by the chairman or secretary of the executive committee. He shall at the annual meeting present a financial report to the Association.

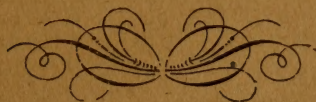
8. The Legal and Constitutional Adviser shall prepare explanatory compilations or booklets on the Ontario and Federal Franchise Acts, The Registration of Voters Acts and The Elections Acts and on any legislation, Federal or Provincial (Ontario) that disturbs established constitutional principles and practice; and also, upon consultation with the Executive Committee, exercise on behalf of this Association a supervisory discretion on any circulars, leaflets, pamphlets, illustrations, cartoons or other publications or documents purporting to be issued by, or on behalf of, or in the interests of the Liberal Party.

9. The executive committee shall meet at the call of the chairman. It shall regularly employ such active measures for carrying out the objects of the Association as may seem best, and shall have full control of all financial matters in the interval between meetings of the Association.

10. The executive committee may, from time to time, repeal, amend or re-enact any provision of this Constitution, but any change so made, unless confirmed at a special meeting of the Association called for the purpose, shall be effective only until the next annual meeting of the Association; and if not then finally confirmed, shall thereafter cease to have any force and the original provisions shall prevail.

11. As soon as the organization by districts of the Liberal Party in the Province of Ontario is completed, it shall be the duty of the President of this Association to meet in conference with the Presidents of such other District Associations as may be formed on the same basis as this Association, and arrange with them for the organization of an Ontario Liberal Executive Committee, to be composed of members representing each district Association, as well as to define the membership and duties of the said Provincial Committee, the location of a Central Liberal office for Ontario, and such other matters as may properly appertain to the duties of the Governing body of the Liberal Party within Ontario. The members to represent this Association on the said Ontario Liberal Executive Committee shall be elected by the Executive Committee of this Association.

12. The funds required for the purposes of this Association, including its contribution to the maintenance of a Central Liberal Office for the Province of Ontario, shall be raised by levy on the Association for each constituency, or in such other manner as, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, will ensure a fair distribution of the amount or amounts to be so levied.



# The Eastern Ontario Liberal Association

## OFFICERS

The Nominating Committee, appointed at the Meeting of Delegates on the evening of January 13th, 1919, to prepare an Agenda for the General Meeting on this date, beg to submit their report recommending the selection of the following as the officers of the Association:

### HONORARY PRESIDENT:—

The Right Honorable, **Sir Wilfrid Laurier**, P. C., M. P.

### HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS:—

Hon. Chas. Murphy, M. P.  
Hon. G. P. Graham, Ex-M.P.  
T. B. Caldwell, Ex-M. P.  
H. B. McGiverin, Ex-M. P.  
Damase Racine, M. L. A.  
Norman Reid, Ex-M. L. A.  
A. C. Hardy, Esquire.

### PRESIDENT:—

**Herbert H. Horsey**, Cressy P. O.  
Liberal Candidate, Prince Edward  
County, Ontario.

### VICE-PRESIDENTS:—

J. O. Herity, Belleville, Hastings  
County.  
• J. E. McGlade, Brockville, Leeds  
County.  
R. Smith, Cornwall, Stormont.  
T. A. Low, Renfrew, Renfrew County.  
A. E. Provost, Ottawa.  
E. J. Daly, Ottawa.  
J. D. Pregent, Lefavre, Prescott  
County.

### HONORARY SECRETARY-

### TREASURER:—

**Andrew Haydon**, Ottawa.

### LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL

### ADVISER:—

**Alexander Smith**, Barrister-at-Law,  
Ottawa.

On motion the foregoing recommendation was confirmed and the officers mentioned declared elected.

## ADVISORY COUNCIL AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Nominating Committee, appointed at the Meeting of Delegates on the evening of January 13th, 1919, to prepare an Agenda for the General Meeting on this date, further report that they have received from delegates present a number of nominations for the General Advisory Council, provided for in the said Constitution, and for the Executive Committee, also provided for therein, and beg to submit a supplementary report attached hereto containing the said nominations:

### GENERAL ADVISORY COUNCIL.

46 Members as Follows:—

1. OTTAWA EAST:  
E. R. E. Chevrier, Ottawa.  
Gordon C. Edwards, Ottawa.
2. OTTAWA WEST:  
E. A. Larmonth, Ottawa.  
Geo. Higgerty, Ottawa.
3. CARLETON:  
Geo. Milford, Carp.  
Edward Dwyer, Dwyer Hill.
4. LANARK SOUTH:  
Dr Dwyer, Perth.  
W. W. Walker, Perth.
5. LANARK NORTH:  
Peter McCallum, Almonte.  
Robert Robertson, Lanark.
6. RENFREW SOUTH:  
R. J. Slattery, Arnprior.  
J. S. McCann, Eganville.
7. RENFREW NORTH:  
D. A. Jones, Pembroke.  
Henry Barr, Jr. Douglas.
8. GRENVILLE:  
Dr Felming, Prescott.  
D. J. Kyle, Merrickville.
9. RUSSELL:  
A. C. Marion, Rockland.  
D. McArthur, Russell.
10. PRESCOTT:  
J. N. Lapointe, Fournier.  
W. A. McRea, Hawkesbury.



11. GLENGARRY :  
F. T. Costello, Alexandria.  
Archie J. MacDonald, North Lancaster
  12. STORMONT:  
C. H. Cline, Cornwall.  
J. G. Munro, Finch.
  13. DUNCAS:  
George L. Brown, Morrisburg.  
W. Hamilton, Chesterville.
  14. BROCKVILLE:  
W. A. Lewis, Brockville.  
G. C. Cumming, Lyn.
  15. LEEDS:  
Dr J. P. Sinclair, Gananoque.  
Frank Halliday, Elgin.
  16. FRONTENAC:
  17. KINGSTON:  
R. F. Elliott, 177 Princess Street.  
M. Sullivan, 87 King Street.
  18. LENNOX :  
Dr H. S. Northmore, Bath.  
D. H. Allison, Bath.
  19. ADDINGTON:  
A. W. Martin, Moscow.  
P. J. Murphy, Enterprise.
  20. PRINCE EDWARD:  
R. W. Ireland, Wellington.  
W. V. Pettet, Picton.
  21. HASTINGS EAST:  
James H. Clare, Tweed.  
J. V. Walsh, Marysville.
  22. HASTINGS WEST:  
Malcolm Wright, Belleville.  
Charles Vandewaters, Reeve of Sydney, R. R. No. 1 Belleville.
  23. HASTINGS NORTH:  
Lindsay Micklejohn, Stirling.  
D. L. Kavanagh, Bancroft.
  4. LANARK SOUTH:  
Dr. Dwyer, Perth.
  5. LANARK NORTH:  
Peter McCallum, Almonte.
  6. RENFREW SOUTH:  
R. J. Slattery, Arnprior.
  7. RENFREW NORTH:  
D. A. Jones, Pembroke.
  8. GRENVILLE:  
Dr Fleming, Prescott.
  9. RUSSELL:  
A. C. Marion, Rockland.
  10. PRESCOTT:  
J. N. Lapointe, Fournier.
  11. GLENGARRY :  
F. T. Costello, Alexandria.
  12. STORMONT:  
C. H. Cline, Cornwall.
  13. DUNDAS:  
Geo. L. Brown, Morrisburg.
  14. BROKVILLE:  
W. A. Lewis, Brockville.
  15. LEEDS:  
Dr J. P. Sinclair, Gananoque.
  16. FRONTENAC:
  17. KINGSTON:  
R. F. Elliott, 177 Princess Street.
  18. LENNOX :  
Dr H. S. Northmore, Bath.
  19. ADDINGTON:  
A. W. Martin, Moscow.
  20. PRINCE EDWARD:  
R. W. Ireland, Wellington.
  21. HASTINGS EAST:  
James H. Clare, Tweed.
  22. HASTINGS WEST:  
Malcolm Wright, Belleville.
  23. HASTINGS NORTH:  
Lindsay Meiklejohn, Stirling.
- EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**
- 23 Members as Follows:

1. OTTAWA EAST:  
E. B. E. Chevrier, Ottawa.
2. OTTAWA WEST:  
E. A. Larmonth, Ottawa.
3. CARLETON:  
Geo. Milford, Carp.

The foregoing recommendations were upon motion of the Chairman of the Committee, Boyd A. C. Caldwell, Perth; concurred in and adopted. See also paragraph 1 of article III of the constitution.

# RESOLUTIONS

The committee on resolutions arranged for a mover of each resolution and as discussion was open, any delegates present could second. Some of the resolutions had more than one seconder and others were practically seconded by the whole assemblage. The resolutions discussed, amended and adopted are as follows:—

## RIGHTS OF SOLDIERS AND SOLDIERS.

**Moved by J. E. Thompson, of Arnprior—**

That the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association pledges itself to insist and make sure that our sailors and soldiers shall have the first claim upon the consideration of Parliament, as they already have upon the gratitude of the Canadian people; that none of those who have served in the forces shall be allowed to fall into distress, either from lack of employment or from any other defect in our social organization; that those who have been incapacitated from following their occupations shall be freely assisted to train themselves for new employments, and shall be further assisted by the State in every practical way to establish themselves as producers, or in business, or as wage-earners; that the pensions from the Government to disabled men, and to widows and children, shall be sufficient in amount to secure a satisfactory standard of comfort; and that the Pensions Fund shall be generously and sympathetically administered.

## INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

**Moved by Mr. R. P. Sparks, Ottawa.**

The Eastern Ontario Liberal Association is of the opinion that the problem of the future is Reconstruction, and that industrial Reconstruction is its most important phase. To introduce into the government of industry the principles of representation, whereby the interest of labour and of the community may be considered in industrial control and the shaping of industrial policies, is the natural work of Liberalism. It is to Liberalism that we owe the transition from autocratic to representative and responsible government in the af-

fairs of the State. To democratize the Government of industry so as to give to the workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry is the task that lies ahead.

## WAR TIME ELECTIONS ACT.

**Moved by Mr A. C. Hardy, Brockville.—**

WHEREAS there have been persistent and widespread demands for the repeal of The War Time Elections Act— notably those made by Premier Martin of Saskatchewan, Hon. W. R. Motherwell, the Hon. Walter Scott and the Liberals of Western Canada:—

AND WHEREAS the said Act is still retained on the Statute Book:—

AND WHEREAS during the period of the War General Elections were held in 8 of the 9 Provinces, without any restriction of the Provincial Franchise, while in some of the Provinces, during the same period, the Franchise was enlarged by granting votes to women:—

RESOLVED that, in the opinion of this Association, the War Time Elections Act is not only a foul blot upon our national honor, but is also a standing menace to the peace and progress of the Dominion, and that this meeting recommend that the fair-minded people of Canada be persistently appealed to until an aroused public opinion forces the Government to repeal this iniquitous measure.

## THE TARIFF.

**Moved by I. E. Pedlow, M. P.—**

WHEREAS the Liberal Party of Canada, at a National Convention in 1893, unanimously adopted a policy of Tariff Reform in the following terms:—

“We, the Liberal Party of Canada, in Convention assembled, declare:—

“That the customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as it is now, upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service;

“That the existing tariff, founded upon an unsound principle, and used, as it has been by the Government, as a corrupting agency, wherewith to keep themselves in office, has deve-



"loped monopolies, trusts and combination;

"It has decreased the value of farm and other landed property;

"It has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of a few;

"It has checked immigration;

"It has caused great loss of population;

"It has impeded commerce;

"It has discriminated against Great Britain;

"In these and in many other ways it has occasioned great public and private injury, all of which evils must continue to grow in intensity as long as the present tariff system remains in force.

"That the highest interests of Canada demand a removal of this obstacle to our country's progress, by the adoption of a sound fiscal policy, which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade, and hasten the return of prosperity to our people;

"That to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government.

"That it should be so adjusted as to make free, or to bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessities of life, and should be so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

"We believe that the results of the protective system have grievously disappointed thousands of persons who honestly supported it, and that the country, in the light of experience, is now prepared to declare for a sound fiscal policy.

"The issue between the two political parties on this question is now clearly defined.

"The Government themselves admit the failure of their fiscal policy and now profess their willingness to make some changes, but they say that such changes must be based only on the principle of protection.

"We denounce the principle of protection as radically unsound, and unjust to the masses of the people, and we declare our conviction that any

"tariff changes, based on that principle, must fail to afford any substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labors.

"This issue we unhesitatingly accept and upon it we await, with the fullest confidence, the verdict of the electors of Canada."

AND WHEREAS, after its accession to power in 1896, the Liberal Party made the following reductions in the Tariff, viz:—

In 1897 there were 48 articles added to the free list and duties were reduced on 147—including farm implements;—

In 1904 there were 14 more articles added to the free list and duties were reduced on 14 others:—

In 1907 the duty on harvesters, mowers, reapers, and self-binders and binding attachments was reduced from 20 p. c. to 17 1-2 p. c.

To Great Britain there was given a preference by way of deduction from the general tariff amounting to 33 1-3 p. c.

And with the United States an agreement was affected in 1910 whereby the minimum tariff under the Payne-Aldrich Bill was applied to Canada while the maximum tariff under the same Bill was applied to other countries by the United States.

AND WHEREAS, in 1911 the Liberal Government of the day negotiated a Reciprocal Tariff Agreement with the Government of the United States, under which when effective, certain natural products were to be admitted free into both countries, and the duties on a limited number of other articles were to be reduced.

AND WHEREAS, on submitting its policy to the people, the Liberal Government was defeated and was replaced by a Conservative-Nationalist administration under Sir Robert Borden:—

AND WHEREAS after the Borden Administration attained office, the duties were increased on certain specified articles, and a further general increase of 7 1-2 p. c. was placed in the Tariff on all commodities coming into Canada from outside Great Britain, and an increase of 5 p. c. was placed on the goods coming in from Great Britain:

AND WHEREAS, besides opposing the said Tariff increases of 7 1-2 p. c.

and 5 p. c. respectively the Liberal Opposition on different occasions since 1911 and more particularly on January 28th, 1914, on February 10th, 1914, on March 11th, 1914, on April 23rd, 1914, on April 28th, 1914, on March 16th, 1915, and on February 23rd, 1916, moved in the House of Commons for reductions in the Tariff on specified articles, and on each of the occasions mentioned their motions were defeated by the majority supporting Sir Robert Borden :—

AND WHEREAS, on May 23rd, 1917, the Liberal Opposition in the House of Commons moved an omnibus resolution embodying practically all the proposals for tariff reduction previously made by them in Parliament and defeated as in the next preceding paragraph mentioned :—

AND WHEREAS, the said omnibus resolution of May 23rd, 1917, was also opposed and defeated by the Borden administration :—

AND WHEREAS, the election manifesto issued in November 1917 by Sir Wilfrid Laurier as the Leader of the Liberal Party, contained a declaration as to Tariff Reform in these Words :—

“In further mitigation of disadvantages to Agricultural production, I would immediately remove the duties on Agricultural Implements and other essentials, as demanded by the Western farmers. A General well-considered reform of the Tariff for the purpose of helping Canadian production and relieving the Canadian consumer would also be an object of my administration.”

NOW THEREFORE be it resolved that in the opinion of this Association, not only should the said Tariff increases of 7 1-2 p. c. and 5 p. c. be immediately repealed, but that there should also be an immediate downward revision of the Tariff in accordance with the above mentioned omnibus resolution moved by the Liberal Opposition in the House of Commons on May 23rd, 1917, in these terms :—

“1. That wheat, wheat flour, and all other products of wheat be placed upon the free list.

“2. That farm implementts and machinery, farm tractors, mining, flour and saw-mill machinery and repairs for same, rough and partly dressed lumber, illuminating, lubricating and

“fuel oils, cement and fertilizers be added to the free list.

“3. That staple foods and food products (other than wheat flour), domestic animals and foods therefore be admitted into Canada free of duty when coming from and being the product of any country admitting like Canadian articles into such country free of duty.

“4. That substantial reductions be made in the general Tariff on all articles imported into Canada, excepting luxuries.

“5. That the British Preference be increased to fifty per cent of the general tariff.”

## RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Moved by C. H. Cline, Cornwall—

The Eastern Ontario Liberal Association hereby affirms that in order to secure and retain responsible and representative Government in Canada there should be—

(a) Insistence on the power of the people through their accredited representatives in Parliament assembled resulting in legislation made by the people and for the people in direct opposition to the aristocratic, autocratic and High Tory method of Order-in-Council which is designed to destroy the common birthright of a free democracy.

(b) Insistence on the primary Liberal principle that no man because he is of a particular family, or social order, or holds to a particular creed or opinion, be invested by Society with any advantage aver his fellows and in particular that militarism in all its forms is absolutely distasteful and repugnant to Canadian life and must be constantly and sternly repressed.

(c) Insistence as a practical measure upon the abolition of any particular Dominion Franchise. Canadian Liberalism clearly recognizes that the basis of political power is the Municipality, and the Electoral qualification for the Town meeting ought to be the same as for the Meeting at Ottawa and no free people can long suffer such outrages as the Dominion Franchise Act of 1885 or its modern prototype The War Time Elections Act of 1917, without rising in its might to overthrow the purely Prussian autocracy that has made such measures possible.



## **PUBLICITY AND CO-OPERATION IN SAME.**

**Moved by Dr M. McKay, Pembroke.—**

THAT in the opinion of this Association one of the most pressing needs of the hour is the restoration to the Canadian people of a public press free from the "interests" and the smothering control of a Prussian paternalism so that Liberal doctrines may be freely disseminated among the great mass of our citizens. And with that end in view Liberals should be appealed to everywhere throughout the country asking their endorsement and support of a well considered scheme for the publication of newspapers devoted to the highest interests of the country and faithful at all times to the noblest traditions of Liberal Democracy; so that never again shall the High Priest of High Toryism beguile the common citizen into the Blind Alleys of prepu-dice and hatred; only in this way can we hope to "put foresight in place of drifting, and team play in place of class and race and sectional wrangling."

## **CONFIDENCE IN AND CONGRATU- LATIONS TO SIR WILFRID LAURIER.**

**Moved by J. E. McGlade, Brockville—**

That the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association take advantage of the opportunity afforded by this its first meeting, to place upon its records the unfaltering confidence of its members in The Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier as the Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, and to congratulate him upon the fact that, thanks to his moderation and wisdom, the ranks of Liberalism are rapidly re-uniting, and that in the conflict that lies close at hand between the forces of progress and the advocates of class privilege and reaction, the Liberal Party, with strength renewed, will again lead the van in asserting the rights of Canadian Democracy.

## **GOVERNMENT BY CABINET.**

**Moved by F. T. Costello, Alexandria—**

RESOLVED that this Association records its earnest protest against the long-continued disregard of the fundamental principles of responsible Gov-

ernment as instanced by the over-riding of the rights of Parliament in legislating by Order-in-Council without consulting the elected representatives of the people; by appointing nominees of the Crown in the Senate as Ministers in charge of three of the most important Departments of State, namely Soldiers Civil Re-establishment, Post Office, and Labor, thus giving to the Commons no Minister for these Departments able to give adequate and full accounting of stewardship before further supplies are voted; by deliberately continuing to leave unrepresented in the Commons the constituencies of Gengarry, North Ontario and Assiniboia; and by the long and unnecessary delay in summoning Parliament after the cessation of hostilities, while peace terms, trade, demobilization and re-construction problems are dealt with by the Cabinet without first seeking the advice and authority of Parliament.

## **PUBLIC EXPENDITURE**

In the absence of Carleton Woods, of Lennox, E. W. Grange, Ottawa, moved :

That having regard to the fact that apart altogether from direct expenditures on war account, the already high total of purely domestic expenditures for the ordinary purposes of government has been increased by the creation of new and unnecessary machinery in the way of scores of Commissions, Bureaus, Committees, Boards, etc., there is ample ground for the belief that, throughout the departments of government, extravagant and wasteful contracts have been entered into, notably those for rolling stock, steel rails, general railway equipment and steel plates for the construction of Canadian cargo vessels; and having further regard to the fact that every unnecessary and dishonest expenditure under cover of the war has been made at the expense of the soldier, the sailor, and the general tax-payer, who have borne the burden of the war, while the profiteers have been enabled by the Government to exploit the nation's sacrifice for their own benefit :—

RESOLVED that, in view of the foregoing state of affairs, it is, in the opinion of this Association, an urgent national duty devolving upon the Liberal members of Parliament to at once

institute a searching and thorough investigation of all Government expenditure, and that to expedite such work a Parliamentary Committee should be appointed without delay to conduct an enquiry prior to the opening of Parliament, during the Session of Parliament, and after Prorogation, and

that the result of its work, with such suggestions for punitive, or other measures, as the facts may warrant, would be made known to the people of Canada through periodical statements issued under the authority of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.





# Sir Wilfrid Laurier closes the Proceedings by outlining the Liberal Policy

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**Fair Treatment of Soldiers and Sailors.**—Generous care for dependents of the fallen.—Maintenance of British Preference restored and unimpaired.—Reciprocity in Food Stuffs.—Gradual Progress Toward Freer Trade.—Democratization of Labor.—Abolition of Government by Order-in-Council.—Abolition of Press Censorship.—Repeal of the War Time Elections Act and for a League of Nations.

Immediately upon the delegates reassembling at eight o'clock in the evening H. H. Horsey, Cressy, Ont., President of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, arose and called upon the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier to deliver an address. Mr. Horsey said :—

Ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with your wishes and the fitness of the occasion, my opening remarks shall be of the briefest description. We are assembled here this evening to receive a message from our great and respected leader, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The public deliverances of Sir Wilfrid in times past on similar occasions have always been like torches to guide and lead our minds to the solution of difficult and intricate problems. He is well fitted to throw a light upon our pathway today, that will help us grapple successfully with the perplexing questions that confront us in this new epoch in the world's history. We have now come to the most interesting and pleasing part of the programme of this convention, as I am about to call upon, not to introduce, because an introduction of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in almost any part of the English and French speaking world would be superfluous. I therefore call upon Sir Wilfrid Laurier who has ever fought for individual Liberty, and Justice, not only during

the past four years but for well nigh half a century, to address you.

## AN ENGLISH LIBERAL OUGHT TO BE PROUD.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was received with loud applause on rising, said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—My first words to you must be words of thanks for having so generously responded to the invitation which was given to you to be present here in Ottawa, in order to organize an Eastern Ontario Liberal Association. You have come in greater numbers than even the most sanguine would have expected, and yet in a sense, I am not at all surprised, because you have come to testify—to solemnly testify to your undying faith in those ideals which have always been associated with British Liberalism. If there was ever a time in the history of the world and especially in the history of the British world—when a man who professes to be an English Liberal ought to be proud of the ideas to which he has devoted his life, it is at the present time, at the end of the great war, when the Liberal policy of commercial freedom, upon which was fought the great battle of British Liberalism during the nineteenth century, has received such unqualified sanction. Because we all know, nobody can deny it, the letters are written as plainly as if

we saw them on this wall, that it was the Liberal policy of commercial freedom which has enabled England to come so triumphantly through this war from an economic point of view; which enabled her during the last 75 years to double her wealth every twenty years, and, during this emergency to finance her expenditure on a gold basis without any effort—a feat unique perhaps in the history of the world where previously in war times we had been accustomed to paper currency—which enabled her, I say, upon a gold basis, to spend \$30,000,000 every day in the year, and in addition, to finance some of her dependencies and many of her allies. It is this inspiration which has brought you here, and in so doing you are simply following the movement which was inaugurated some few weeks ago by the Liberals of Western Ontario, when they started an organization of their own. Another meeting to organize a Central Ontario Association will take place some time next week, and there is every reason to believe that the movement spreading east and west will ultimately reach the island of Vancouver in the west, and the island of Prince Edward island in the east.

### The Lady and The Tiger.

Now the Unionist newspapers—which there is in these days in the Dominion a goodly number, perhaps too large a number for the good of the community, but this is a free country and we allow freedom of speech even when speech is not in the right direction—the Unionist press have found it surprising that we Liberals in time of war, and because though hostilities have ceased, peace has not been proclaimed—should meet as we do to perfect our organization and not only to maintain it. They have professed surprise that in this time of war when they have a so-called Union Government,

composed of former Liberals and permanent Conservatives, we should have the audacity to be thinking of party politics. Sir, if this attitude of ours is a cause of surprise to the Unionist press, it is no surprise to us, because we know of old the spirit of Toryism, and after all, it is the Tory leaven which leaveneth the Unionist lump. It is a repetition of the old story which we have heard many years ago of the tiger and the lady. The lady approached the tiger with a smile on her face, but after a short time and a very short time at that, the lady was inside the tiger and the smile had been transferred to the face of the tiger. This, I believe, in a few words, is the story of the Unionist Government. But, Sir, we have no objection to tell the Unionist press what the reason or what the motive is which has brought us together: It is that we still believe in British institutions, and in the British system of responsible Government. In this system of Government there are two dominant features. The first is that Government is confided to a Committee of Parliament called the Cabinet, whose first duty is to advise the Crown. Confronting the Government in Parliament sits the minority, constituting His Majesty's loyal Opposition, upon whom rests the duty of supervising the actions of the advisers of the Crown. Let it be well understood that we Liberals do not profess the doctrine that an Opposition is there always to oppose. The Opposition's duty is to supervise; to approve when approval is needed, and to disapprove and criticise when disapproval is called for—to do by the Government as the interest of the country demands; to support them when they are in the right, and oppose them when they are in the wrong. And, Sir, if there is an Opposition in any part of the bel-



ligerent countries which has discharged that duty with greater fidelity than the Opposition in any other part, I claim the credit is due to the Canadian Opposition in the Canadian Parliament. We have given a loyal support to the Government in all their war measures except one, and upon that measure, we decided to give a free hand to everybody—not to make it a party question, but to allow everybody to follow his own inclination as his conscience told him what his duty was. We are also told by the Unionist press—impliedly if not formally, and sometimes, even formally—that since we have a Government composed of different parties, all opposition should cease for the time being. Sir, whatever Government we may have, whether it be a Government representing one party or another party, or composed of different parties—it is in the interest of the country that even that Government should always have a virile and fearless opposition to affirm the rights of the people, under all and every circumstances. This is at all events the Liberal policy which we have to propose to you this evening in the light that I spoke of this afternoon. We question na man's conscience, and whatever may have been his attitude in the past, the moment he accepts the Liberal doctrine, that is enough for us, we do not want any other declaration of principle. But, Sir, the Government has gone much further. If the Liberal-Unionist press wanted to have no opposition whatever, the Union Government went a step further:

#### THEY WANTED TO HAVE NO PARLIAMENT AT ALL.

Of course they could not dispense with Parliament—it is there in the law, provided for by that Constitution, and it cannot be done away with—but the Government acted with Parliament very much as the Tycoon, in the old consti-

tution of Japan, acted with the Mikado: The Mikado was the Sovereign; he was the source of all authority, but the Tycoon, while leaving him all the paraphernalia, all the trappings of office, took away all the power. This is exactly like the way which the present Union Government would have treated Parliament. They discarded the laws, they discarded all the sanctions provided by long ages of experience for the protection of the people; they discarded all these necessary formulas which are the guarantees of liberty, and amended Statutes, the sole right of Parliament itself, simply by Order-in-Council. They did even more: They went so far as to pass Orders-in-Council asking and commanding the Military authorities—it is a fact which is scarcely believable, but which I can bring to the attention of the Canadian people now that the war is over—to disobey and disregard the rulings of Courts of Law where these rulings were at variance with the tenets of their own Orders-in-Council. Sir, could anything worse have been done in Russia or autocratic Germany? Could the Kaiser himself have gone any further than to make a command as that? Well, Sir, such is the case. To-day, the war is over, and the time has come, when the Canadian people, if they are true to the traditions of the past and the spirit left them by their ancestors, will see to it that there shall be a restoration of Parliamentary Government at no distant date.

#### NEW DUTIES ARE SPRINGING UP.

Now the war is over, thank the Lord. Victory came more suddenly, perhaps, than we had anticipated or ever expected, though our hopes were every day rising higher and higher since the middle of July when we daily received the announcement of a new victory. In the face of that victory won, in the face

of the absolute failure of the German authority, new duties are springing upon us, consequent upon our victories, which it is incumbent upon us to at once tackle and tackle with courage and determination. I do not propose this evening to go over the whole of the questions which we have now before us, but there are three or four—four, I should say—to which I am bound to call your attention right away.

The first is the treatment of our returned soldiers. Let me say at once, with regard to the treatment of our soldiers, that not because they have done so much for the glory of Canada, not because they have so much for the integrity of the British Empire, not because they have done so much toward saving civilization which was threatened, but because they enlisted and fought, because they were ready to give their lives and in many cases did give their lives, the only basis upon which this question is to be approached is that these men are the creditors of the Canadian people. We owe them a debt which has to be discharged to the fullest. Indeed, not only to the fullest, but with interest and compound interest at that. Of those who have enlisted there are three classes of men with whom we have to deal. First of all those who lost their lives on the battlefield, whose bones now rest in the soil of old France, and who have given to their country, and to the cause which that country has espoused, the fullest measure of sacrifice. Because these gallant men are no more, does it follow that we owe them nothing? No. They are now in the grave, but we owe it to their widows and their orphans that the State should take care of them, that the widows are maintained and the orphans brought up. That is the first duty. The second duty is to those who, though living still, came back

maimed, broken in health, broken in body, and no longer able to provide for themselves. What is the duty that the State owes to them? The duty which we owe to those thus disabled is that we should provide them with a living equal to that which they were getting before the war, when they undertook to give their services to the country.

And, have we no obligation to those who return able-bodied and in good health? Nobody will assert that. They gave up their occupations; they risked their lives, they exposed themselves to all the dangers of war, and though they are still able to take care of themselves, yet the State, the nation, owes a duty to them, and it is to assist them to go back into civil life.

### THE GOVERNMENT DEALS IN WORDS.

Well, all these duties are standing before us, and I ask: Has the Union Government, so-called, done anything to discharge any one of these duties? (A voice No.) No, the answer comes from the audience, nothing tangible. They may have done a thing here and there, I do not know I hope they did, but they have laid down no rule upon which the returned soldier can go and say "This is my right which I claim". We have abundant words from them—words, and words, and words. I do not know that a month has passed in which we did not have some declaration from the Government—that they were looking at this or that, and the returned soldiers would be well provided for, but nothing more than words.

The last declaration was made not later than yesterday by the Acting Prime Minister, who said this:

"The important question of facilitating land settlement by returned soldiers has received most painstaking attention."



Most painstaking attention by a body composed of some twenty men or more, with an abundance of ministers, deputy ministers, officers, clerks, and commissioners. Commissions galore we have now, a commission every day almost. What is the result of this painstaking attention? If there have been any results from it, the Government has been so modest they have not yet confided them to the public, and everybody knows that modesty is not one of the shining virtues of the Union Government.

### CHAOS AT OTTAWA.

But more significant yet is the speech which was delivered by my friend, at all events, my former friend, Mr. Calder, a member of the Union Government some days ago. Mr. Calder spoke in the city of Toronto. I know what it is to speak in that city, as a Liberal, at all events. I do not know what it is to speak as a Unionist Member. But Mr. Calder spoke to the people of Toronto, and he spoke in a way which must have been very gratifying to them if they are blessed with any sense of hope. This is the way that Mr. Calder spoke:

"Many people say there is chaos at Ottawa, that we are unprepared. That is entirely erroneous."

Many people say there is chaos at Ottawa, that we are unprepared and Mr. Calder declares this is altogether erroneous. Well, I repeat that Mr. Calder was a friend of mine. Personally, I have nothing against him. Politically, perhaps, it is different. At all events, our relations in the past have been so good that when he tells us that any statement that there is chaos in Ottawa is not true and that it is altogether erroneous, I would not be disposed to take issue with him. And yet let us see. No chaos at Ottawa?

Many people think there is chaos at Ottawa and that there is nothing doing. Mr. Calder tells us this is all wrong. What is there then in Ottawa if there is no chaos? Well, friend as I am of Mr. Calder, I must say there is simply confusion—confusion worse confounded. Where there is no confusion, there is stagnation, and where there is no stagnation, there is confusion. I believe this is the political situation, on the whole, at Ottawa. Mr. Calder goes on to say further:

"The Government has given much time and thought to the matter, and progress has been made."

"Much time and thought to the matter." Remember these words. "The problem has been on our backs for some time."

I am afraid it is there yet, it has not been displaced.

Then, coming to the land settlement, Mr. Calder speaks this way:

"There is no more difficult problem. It is a tremendous task and involves a vast amount of money. Canada is 3,000 miles across, the land varies greatly in price. Some land is owned by the Provinces and some by the Dominion. The Government decided to hand over Crown Lands to the returned soldiers and advanced a loan of \$2,500. That is the only Statutory provision to date."

The Government decided to give lands and advance money, but as Mr. Calder says, this is all that has been done by legislation. There has been an Act of Parliament therefore to afford lands and money to the soldiers. What has been done under that Act of Parliament which was passed a year ago and more? Nothing at all. But hear the confession of Mr. Calder. I shall read it to you in a moment. There has been legislation passed, that is true. There was an Act passed last year under this title:

"An Act to Assist Returned Soldiers in Settling upon the land and to increase agricultural Production."

The Act sets forth:

"The Governor in Council may appoint a Board consisting of three Commissioners to be called The Soldiers Settlement Board.

"Each Commissioner shall hold office during good behaviour, but may be removed at any time by the Governor in Council for cause. Provided that a Commissioner shall cease to hold office upon reaching the age of seventy years.

"One such Commissioner shall be appointed by the Governor in Council to be Chairman of the Board.

"The Commissioner shall be paid a salary of six thousand dollars per annum, and each of the other Commissioners shall be paid a salary of five thousand dollars per annum, and such salaries shall be paid monthly out of any unappropriated moneys forming part Canada.

"There shall be attached to the Board such officers, instructors, clerks, Stenographers and other employees as the Board, with the approval of the Governor-in-Council, at any time appoints, with such salaries and remuneration as the Governor in Council may approve.

"The Minister, at the request of the Board, may reserve Dominion Lands for the purposes of this Act." That Act was passed in 1917. In 1918, there was another Act passed, "An Act entitled Soldiers Civil Re-establishment", which provides that there shall be a Minister, a Parliamentary Secretary, a Deputy Minister, and officers and clerks galore. And yet, having two Acts upon the Statute Book, so far as legislation goes, as Mr. Calder says, nothing was done. Do you know why nothing was done? I defy any of you to tell me why nothing was done under this Act.

The Act in question was not passed this year but last year, before the elections, when the war was going on, and seemed far from its conclusion, and yet was passed in haste. Nothing was done, and why was nothing done? Can you imagine why no lands were appropriated for the soldiers? I am sure if you were to guess you never could guess the true reason. The true reason was this, in the very words of Mr. Calder.

"That is the only Statutory provision," says Mr. Calder.

"When we got down to the problem, we found that there was not sufficient land available."

Here was an Act Passed by the Parliament of Canada under the direction of the Government of Canada, to appropriate lands for the soldiers, and those who made the Act had not looked to see whether they had the lands for the purpose or not; and they could not proceed because they had no lands. Well, Sir, if that excuse came from anybody, I would not expect it to come from the Government. If anybody was to know whether there were sufficient lands for the purpose or not, who should have that information but the Government themselves! There was a Department of the Interior, there was a Minister of the Interior, and this year there was a Minister of Immigration also, because we now have a member of the Government enjoying that title. In the time of the Liberal Government we had a great deal of immigration — 200,000, 300,000 or 400,000 immigrants arriving yearly, but we only had one Minister, the Minister of the Interior, to look after that movement. During the war, we have had no immigration, but we have a Minister of Immigration in addition to the Minister of the Interior. That is an example of the economy so much talked about by Mr. White, and yet with the two Minis-



## GOVERNMENT BY ORDER IN COUNCIL.

ters, the Government found out they had no lands to give to the soldiers. Why, Sir, did they not ascertain that last year before they brought in their measure? Why did they not find it out then? Sir, there is an explanation for that. The Government knew last year just as well as they do to-day, that they had not enough lands to accommodate all the soldiers that would apply for land settlement. They knew it then just as well as they know it now, but last year there was to be an election in a few months, and what a fine card it was to say to the soldiers, "Oh, this paternal Government, they have provided lands for you." The elections came on, the soldiers voted, and then they are told, "Well, there is no land, we are very sorry." But that is not all. Mr. Calder goes on:

"We haad to consider the matter anew." And how did he consider it?

"A Conference was held with the Provincial Premiers, and it was decided that the doors should be thrown open and soldiers settled on purchased lands." Well, this is the policy. Everything has yet to be done now that the soldiers are coming. They have been coming by thousands and are coming at the rate of 30,000 a month, but nothing has been done as yet. And this is the Government who call themselves the friends of the soldiers and that above everything else. Sir, if that is the method in which the Government has been doing their work, up to the present time, no wonder there is a great deal of discontent amongst the men who are coming from the front and who believe that Canada is not discharging towards them the duty which Canada owes them, and if they make any such complaint, I think they are perfectly right. Now, Sir, this is one question.

The other question to which I desire to call your attention is the one to which I alluded a moment ago—the restoration of Parliamentary Government—the end to Government by Order-in-Council, the end to the censorship of the press, the end to persecutions and persecutions, for no other offence than to hold opinions which were not in consonance with the opinions of some over-zealous officers; and above all, and worse than—bad as it is—because it is bad enough to have Government by Order-in-Council without the authority of Parliament, it is bad enough to have the press censored and the freedom of the press which has always been the pride of British people, trampled underfoot, and the freedom of thought interfered with in a brutal manner—there is still something worse than that, and what we must insist upon is the repeal of the infamous War-Time Elections Act. This Act is so obnoxious that even the Union Government has found it must go by the Board. You have the statement in the newspapers of to-day that the War-Time Elections Act is to go by the Board. But if that Act is to be repealed, I would have expected that we should go back to the normal Electoral Act which has been for many years on the Statute Book of Canada.

### THE FRANCHISE ACT.

But now we are told we are to have another Franchise Act, a Dominion Franchise Act, an Act passed by the Dominion Parliament. Why not the Act which we had previously? Why not the Act which provided for a provincial franchise, such as we have had for so many years, rather than a new Franchise Act put upon Statute Book? Well, Sir, thereby hangs a tale. This

means if we are to have a Dominion Franchise Act, that we are going back to the system of revising Barristers, such as we had years ago under the Franchise Act of 1885. That question was threshed out in 1885 when we had to decide between the Provincial Franchise and the Dominion Franchise. Sir, we have a Dominion Parliament, and in every province a Provincial Parliament. But the people who are represented whether in Provincial Legislatures or in the Dominion Parliament, are not different people, they are the same men. We have, a division of legislative powers. In the Parliament here, questions of a National or Imperial character are settled, whereas, in the Provincial Legislature, local questions are decided, but the people who exercise the Franchise are the same. In 1885 the question was threshed out whether there should be a Dominion Franchise Act applicable to all the people for Dominion purposes only or whether we should adopt one franchise only for all elections, provincial or federal. Let me remind you that Confederation has now existed for 51 years. From 1867, the year of Confederation to 1885, we had the Provincial Franchise, and members of Parliament were elected upon the Franchise of each province. In the latter year, the Government of Sir John A. MacDonald adopted a Dominion Franchise for the election of Members to the Dominion Parliament alone. This Act was in force until 1899, when we reverted to the Provincial Franchise which had prevailed before and has prevailed from that year down to the year 1917. Now, when, as I have explained, Sir John A. MacDonald introduced his Bill for a Dominion Franchise Act, the Liberal party was then headed by that great man, Edward Blake, a giant in intellect, and a man of sturdy honesty and

unflinching uprightness. He was the leader for the Liberals in that fight in which Sir John A. MacDonald's Bill was fought until carried by mere brute force.

But, Sir, Edward Blake laid it down that the only principle which ought to be satisfactory was the Provincial Franchise. Why? Because it is the most Democratic of all the franchises that could be proposed. You men of Ontario know it as well as I do. Your electoral lists are prepared now and always have been by your Municipal Councils. In the country everybody knows there is no trouble at all; the work is done systematically, easily and inexpensively. On the other hand, you know that the franchise Act from 1885 to 1899 never gave satisfaction. The preparation of the voters lists was placed in the hands of creatures of the Government, just as the voters lists in the Fall of 1917 were put in the hands of creatures of the Government. It is now proposed that we should return to that franchise. Sir, for my part, I say that it is simply an abuse of legislative power, of the power of the Dominion Parliament, to impose upon us a franchise which has given no satisfaction when tried, and deprive us of a franchise which has given every possible satisfaction. Well, if we are to believe what we read to-day in the Unionist press, the Union Government has prepared, or are preparing such an Act, and here allow me to make a confession. I would not go into the Union Government when the offer was made to me, but then some friends of mine did go, and I have always observed that if you mix two elements together, the mixture is invariably at the expense of the better element. I am afraid this is the case with the present Government.

If the Members of the Government, who at one time were Liberals, consent



to such a departure as that, they will be departing from the teaching laid down by that great and good man, Edward Blake, and you will see another illustration of the lady and the tiger: In this case the Liberal ladies associated with the tiger will be inside the animal and the smile will be upon the tiger's face when the session opens and a proud grin it will be.

## THE TRADE QUESTION.

The third question to which I desire to draw your attention this evening is one which is always with us—but which it seems to me in view of the result of the war, should be solved beyond all doubt. Sir, I told you at the commencement of my speech, that it was the commercial freedom of England which enabled her to pass triumphantly through this war from an economic point of view. England, needless to say, has always been in the van of the greatest advances with respect to freedom of any kind, whether it be religious freedom, civil freedom, or political freedom, there are no people in the world to-day who have a greater degree of these liberties than have the English people, or the Canadian people. In the matter of Commercial freedom, England has not only been well to the front, but has been very much in advance of any other people. England has proclaimed the doctrine that trade admitted of no restrictions, and that freedom in trade as well as in everything else, was the goal to which every civilized nation should aspire. But, Sir, men there are in England to-day who are contemplating the possibility of putting a bar upon the freedom of the English people in matters of trade. Whatever takes place in Great Britain we shall follow with a great deal of interest. It is a question for the British people to determine, and if they determine one way, we

shall respect their opinion, even though it would not agree with ours, and if they determine the other way, we shall respect them all the more.

In this country, Sir, Liberals have always been the disciples of the British people on the question of Commercial freedom. Indeed, many years ago—when you recall that time to-day in the resolution which was passed upon this subject at the Convention of 1893, we declared against the principle of protection, and when we had the opportunity we lived up to our declaration. Sir, it has always been made a cause of reproach to us that when in office we did not adopt but were recreant to our declarations. Such a reproach cannot reach us. We were not recreant, we proceeded step by step towards the goal, always keeping it in view, never imposing a duty for protection's sake only, but always acting upon the principle or the basis of a tariff for revenue and revenue only. This was our policy in the past, it is our policy to-day and we have taken this occasion to re-affirm it. Sir, as I have already told you, the reproach is made to us that we were recreant to our declarations, to our policy. This reproach is well rebuked already by the declarations which you have passed this afternoon, reciting what we have done, reciting the many articles which we placed upon the free list, and reciting the many articles upon which we made a reduction of duty. But there are two features especially of our policy which will stand at all events, one will stand forever, and the other will soon be restored, I believe. The first policy which we affirmed upon succeeding to office was the policy of a British Preference. The first year we were in office, in 1897, we gave to British goods imported into this country a preference over all other goods of 12 1-2 p. c. That policy we passed in

spite of the objection of the Conservative party of that time, led by Sir Charles Tupper, and Sir George Foster and finally put on the Statute Book. It is there yet, and they dare not take it away. Having thus in 1897 adopted the principle and granted a preference to British goods of 12 1-2 p. c., the year afterwards we increased that preference to 25 per cent and two years afterwards to 33 1-3 per cent. This is our record and, as I said a moment ago, it was done in spite of all the opposition of the Conservative Party. And upon what ground was their objection based? Simply upon the ground that we should have exacted preference for preference, that if we gave a preference to the goods of Great Britain, that country should give us a preference for our goods. That was not our policy. We said, "No, we are not going to bargain with the mother country upon matters of that kind. We do it because we are British subjects; and because we believe in the principles of Free Trade. We believe also that it is for the good of the Canadian people that we should adopt that policy, and by that policy we stand to-day also. In your resolution you affirm that the black eye which was given by the present Government three years ago should be removed, and, Sir, if it is in our power to do so we shall do so; at all events, we shall take the opportunity to bring the matter before Parliament at the next session.

### RECIPROCITY.

Sir, there was another feature of our policy, another attempt that we made at freer Trade—this time not with Great Britain, but with our neighbours, the American people. You remember well that in the olden times of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper, one of the cardinal principles of the Conser-

vative party was to have reciprocity with the United States, and the former when he introduced the National policy in 1878 declared that since we could not obtain from our neighbours reciprocity in trade, we would have reciprocity in tariff, in the hope of at last bringing in reciprocity in trade. When we came into office, we went to Washington and made another offer; but I am sorry to say our offer was not accepted. In 1910, the Government of President Taft came to us with an offer of reciprocity. Of course we accepted the offer, and let me say here that if ever there was a policy which would have been beneficial to the Canadian people, it was the agreement which was made between Mr. Fielding and the Government of Mr. Taft. However, that policy was defeated. It was met with the cry of "No truck or trade with the Yankees," which was stupidity itself. And I am sorry to say they carried the country with it. But, Sir, revenge is sweet at all times, sweet even to me who profess to be a good Christian. Revenge is sweet, and do you know why? My revenge is in the attitude of the Conservative Party who have proclaimed no truck or trade with the Yankees, and yet had to go to Washington, reluctantly, I admit, very reluctantly, but under the threat of the western farmers, who were asking for free wheat with the Americans, they had to go—the consequence is that today we have free wheat. But that is not all. They had to make another advance to the Americans, not for the farmers of the West this time, but for the farmers of the East. The growers of potatoes in Prince Edward Island and in New Brunswick made demands, and so those in power had to adopt the American offer of free potatoes; and so to-day the potatoes raised by



eastern growers are free in the American market. There was still another step, and this one was taken, not by adopting the Washington legislation, but simply by action at Ottawa. They gave free tractors to the farmers of the West, this action being taken by Order-in-Council. I have no objections to such orders-in-council, I would almost forgive them the others if they would pass more of this kind.

Now, what do these piece-meal advances in reciprocity mean? They are simply an admission that these people were acting stupidly—to put it no stronger than that—when they refused the offer made by the Americans of extended free trade with them. If there ever was anything stupid in the world, surely it was the action of the Conservatives in 1911 in declaring that we Canadians, numbering less than eight millions of people should refuse to trade with the wealthiest nation on earth to-day, the American people. Do you wonder that I say, revenge is sweet, when, in the House of Commons, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Trade and Commerce rise in their places and say: Yes, we gave free wheat to the farmers, we gave free potatoes to the farmers. Of course, they have the satisfaction of having won office upon the stupid anti-reciprocity cry, but better lose ten times over than triumph by such methods as that. For we know that if there is one thing which, more than any other is conducive to good relations between nation and nation it is trade. And, though our commercial relations with our neighbours have not been as free or as friendly as I would like to have them, and though we lost a great opportunity in 1911 to make them more friendly than they were, still, thank heaven, we have the satisfaction of knowing that for over a hundred years

we have had no war with our American neighbours. That is a great triumph. We have had our quarrels, many of them, quarrels about the navigation of canals, about the fisheries of the Atlantic, about boundaries.

#### **BUT MOST OF THESE DIFFERENCES WERE SETTLED BY NEGOCIATIONS.**

And when we could not settle by negotiation we appointed arbitrators, and the arbitrators decided between us. I will not say, for my part, that I was always satisfied with the decision given. Some of those decisions, I think, were wrong, some were unjust to us. Sometimes the Americans were dissatisfied with the decision. But whether we thought the decision just or unjust, both Canadians and Americans yielded to the arbitrament. And was it not better, a thousand times better, that we should settle our difficulties by judicial arbitrament rather than to proceed to the arbitrament of the sword? If, as a result of this war, we could have a similar condition of things in Europe, if differences which for 2,000 years have soaked with blood the numberless battlefields of Europe could be settled by the methods adopted for the settlement of quarrels between our neighbours and ourselves, at least we should have the consolation of knowing that the carnage of this war and the miseries flowing from it have led to a better condition of things for the world. We cannot tell what will take place in the great Peace Conference. But, at all events, our Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden is there, and the American representatives are there, and these men can point to the example of Canada and the United States, divided by the longest boundary on the face of the earth, a boundary extending from one ocean to the

other on which there is not a single fortress, not a single gun pointed toward the other side. This is the highest standard of civilization. And when we have perfected it by another advance in trade relation, we shall have still a greater example to offer to the nations of the world.

### DEMOCRATISE THE GOVERNMENT OF INDUSTRY.

Then, Sir, the other question to which I wish to ask your attention is the new condition which ought to prevail in the industrial world. We live in an industrial age. Reading the history of the last sixty or eighty years, we are simply dumfounded at the advances which have been made in industry. Great establishments reckon their employees not by the hundred, but by the thousand and ten thousand, and the output is not limited to hundreds or thousands, but runs into millions of articles every day. But while this growth has proceeded, conditions have developed which are very unsatisfactory, even dangerous. The relations between labour and capital have never been on a sound basis, and the two have been inimical rather than friendly. Labour has looked upon capital as a master and capital has regarded labour as a servant. In such relations as these there should be neither master nor servant, but equality, equality of right and co-operation in administration. In this new country of Canada, and in this new order of society which we are starting to build up, we must have another and a better system. Instead of labour and capital being, as they have been, inimical, they must henceforth be friendly, seeing that labour needs capital and capital needs labour, and seeing that when one is injured the other suffers. How is that to be done? You have approached this

subject to-day in your deliberation and have passed a resolution which seems to me to afford a key to the solution of this problem. Let me read it: I look upon it as the most important of all the resolutions you have adopted this day:

"The Eastern Ontario Liberal Association is of the opinion that the problem of the future is reconstruction, and that industrial reconstruction is the most important phase. To introduce into the Government of industry the principle of representation whereby the interests of labour and of the community may be considered in industrial control and the shaping of policies is the natural work of Liberals. It is to Liberalism that we owe the transition from autocracy to representative and responsible government in the affairs of the State. To democratise the Government of industry so as to give to the workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry is the task that lies ahead."

I call your attention to the last sentence, and I call the attention of the country to it, if my words can reach the people—"To democratise the Government of industry so as to give to the workers and consumers a larger share in the government of industry is the task that lies ahead." Yes, that is the task to which Liberals must apply themselves. It is to you, my fellow-countrymen, I appeal on this occasion. You go back to your several ridings to-morrow and each of these Ridings has its own industrial centre. It is the duty of each of us to assist in promoting a spirit of friendship between employees and employers that they may consult together and act together, instead of the spirit of enmity which has too often characterized them, that all may unite in going forward to-



ward that greater and better day which is dawning upon Canada.

That is the policy. How is it to be carried into effect? The way has been pointed out. My colleague when in Government, Hon. Mackenzie King, who was Minister of Labour—a real Minister of Labour and the only real one we had for years—has indicated the solution of this problem. The plan is that the workers should be represented in the management of each industry, to give their advice on all questions which concerned their part of the job. If we bring that about, we shall have made a great step toward the solution of the whole problem. As we cannot too often remind ourselves.

### WE ARE ENTERING UPON A NEW ERA.

We trust that the war which was lately devastating the world will not have to be fought again. But it is not enough that we have defeated the autocratic Government of Germany and that the ruins of that autoeracy lie in the dust; it is not enough that Austria has been defeated; it is not enough that we have accomplished that which we had determined to accomplish, that is, to prevent the dismemberment of France and to restore to France her lost provinces; it is not enough that England is maintained in the proud position which she held before the war, and is raised to-day to an even prouder position than ever before as the great champion and defender of freedom and civilization; it is not enough even if we realise our great hope that all this shall be crowned by the forming of a League of Nations to prevent the recurrence of war and to stand against any force that would bring us to war again. And as to that, let me say that if conditions are not ripe for such a league of nations as we should like to see,

yet we may joyfully believe that there is to-day the beginning of a league of nations in the alliance which now exists between England, France, Italy, the United States and Japan. On the part of these nations, at least, I hope, a league will be formed at this Peace Conference under which it shall be provided that, so far as they are concerned, war shall not be permitted, so that if one country wishes to raise war against another the league will interfere to maintain peace; and also that the league shall establish a tribunal to decide disputes and so do away with any pretext for war. But, as I have said before, even this is not enough. If we thus succeed in establishing better international relations, much more must we establish peace in the industrial relations that exist among ourselves.

### CAUSE GREAT AND IDEAL HIGH.

Sir, you have passed another resolution. I referred to it this afternoon, let me speak of it once more. You spoke of myself and expressed your satisfaction with the leadership I have given to the Liberal Party. I am conscious that I have made many mistakes. I know also that occasions there have been when I had to disappoint some of my friends. But, Sir, if another had been in my place who knew this country as I know it, from end to end, and in all its component elements—and without boasting I claim that perhaps I know it better than any other Canadian—then, even though he and I might have differed, I am sure that he would have realised that, acting as I did, my aim was to win the war—and that was my aim—and to promote the highest interests of Canada. At the same time I realise—and whether I realised it or not it still remains true—that it is still the privilege of every Liberal to have his own opinion, that

in entering an association such as yours he does not resign his conscience into the hands of another, but keeps it, to give account of it to his Maker and to Him alone. I have had the confidence of the Liberal Party, I think, as much as any leader of a party ever had in this country. But there is not a man in the party who will say that I ever tried to influence his conscience. Upon every question that arose, I always told those who did me the honour to call me their leader that it was for each one to judge, and if his judgment should be contrary to mine, he would be my friend still, just as though our opinions were in accord. That is my policy still. Some have differed with me in the past, in the recent past. But that difference was upon a transient question, and one that will not arise again, for has not Lloyd George, pledged himself to "no conscription." Then, I say, let the past be forgotten, and let us be all Liberals again, actuated only by conscience. If a man comes to me and tells me: "I was a Unionist at the last election", I will tell him, "I will not rebuke you for it; you have rebuked yourself already sufficiently. Give me your hand. We do not look to the past, but to the future; only in that direction is the horizon for us as Liberals." I was placed at the head of the Liberal party a great many years ago—so many that I had better not count them. I feel every day that I am getting riper and riper for Heaven. I would gladly resign the position which I owe to the confidence and friendship of the Liberals of Canada and leave the task to younger hands. But, so long as God gives me the health which I now enjoy—though I cannot say that it is as good as it was at one time, yet I believe has left in me a kick which I can use on occasion—I will remain and do my share. I will do my share in

any position which is assigned to me by the party, whether it be that of general, captain or private in the ranks. Whatever my place may be I will do my duty cheerfully, happily. Nothing would be of greater satisfaction to me, now that I have begun to feel the weight of years, than, as I have said, to leave the task of leadership to a younger general. That satisfaction may be given me or it may not; but my duty still is to fight, and fight I will as long as God gives me health. I regret that I am not some twenty years younger, and that I cannot carry on the fight with the same vigour as I could have carried it on twenty years ago.

Still our cause remains, and with the horizon broadening day by day. Our ideals are higher and higher every day. So great is that cause and so high those ideals that no one has the right to falter, but everyone must do his bit according to his ability. And, looking to the future, my hope is that the day is not far distant when we shall hear again in the heavens the hopeful message brought years ago by the Angels: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will to all men."

#### SENATOR BELCOURT AND MR. PARLIAMENT.

Hon. Senator N. A. Belcourt, K. C. P. C. intended to be present and upon invitation was to address the gathering in French. He was called out of the city and could not be present. The chairman conveyed to the audience the Senator's regrets at not being present, and called upon Sir Wilfrid Laurier to speak in French. This request came after Sir Wilfrid had spoken in English and he reserved his speech in French until after Nelson Parliament, M. P. P. Ameliasburg Prince County, Ont., had spoken.



Mr. Parliament expressed his pleasure at being present as a delegate at the formation of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association and looked forward to the Association performing useful service. He then proceeded briefly to outline the need for reforms and more progressive legislation in Provincial affairs at Toronto, especially in the matter of education. The government in Queens Park, Toronto, was a government of neglect and the member for

Prince Edward County predicted that while it would be impossible to arouse the Toronto Government from its slumbers, there was all the more necessity for the opposition to be alert and progressive.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier repeated in French the greater portion of the speech he had delivered in English and after cheers for Sir Wilfrid, and the new association, the proceedings closed with cheers for His Majesty The King.









